

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0366

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN, LU

SUBJ: ORGANIZING FOR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY -- SOME THOUGHTS
ON PRIME MINISTER THORN'S COMMENTS

REF: LUXEMBOURG 0109

1. I FOUND THORN'S COMMENTS IMMENSELY ENCOURAGING. HE IS
THE FIRST EUROPEAN PRIME MINISTER IN THIS PERIOD TO RECOGNIZE
THAT WESTERN PERFORMANCE AT THE UNITED NATIONS PRESENTS A
PROBLEM THAT CAN AND SHOULD BE WORKED AT. WITH THE ONE
EXCEPTION OF THE BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE, EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVES
HERE ARE WHOLLY THE CREATURES, AND USUALLY THE EMBODIMENT OF
THEIR FOREIGN OFFICES. THE STYLE AND TACTICS REFLECT POLITICAL
DECISIONS MADE YEARS IN THE PAST, AND WILL NEVER CHANGE UNTIL
NEW POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE MADE. THORN'S INITIATIVE SUGGESTS
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THAT SUCH A CHANGE IS POSSIBLE. FROM MY LIMITED BUT

RATHER INTENSE DEALINGS WITH HIM, I WOULD THINK HE MIGHT BE THE IDEAL MAN TO TAKE SUCH AN INITIATIVE, AND WOULD VERY MUCH RESPOND TO A REQUEST FROM THE PRESIDENT THAT HE DO SO.

2. THE BASIC PROPOSITION IS THAT OF BETTER WESTERN COORDINATION. IN OUR SPEECH AT THE CLOSING OF THE THIRTIETH GENERAL ASSEMBLY WE PROPOSED THAT A "PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS" MIGHT BE ESTABLISHED, MADE UP OF THOSE NATIONS WHICH ARE POLITICAL DEMOCRACIES, WITH STANDARDS FOR MEMBERSHIP SOMEWHAT LIKE THOSE OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE. WE HAD IN MIND TO AVOID THE DIFFICULTY OF AMERICAN SPONSORSHIP, AND ALSO TO AVOID BEING WHOLLY A WESTERN GROUPING. SOMETHING OF THE SORT IS POSSIBLE AND IS NEEDED. TWO GROUPS WITH MORE OR LESS THIS COMPOSITION DO MORE OR LESS FUNCTION HERE IN NEW YORK, BUT NEITHER HAS THE AUTHORITY THAT COMES FROM A COLLECTIVE POLITICAL DECISION TO WORK TOGETHER.

3. I WHOLLY AGREE WITH THORN THAT "THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR A SHIFT IN THE STYLE BUT NOT THE SUBSTANCE OF RELATIONS WITH THE NONALIGNED IN THE UN." AS IN THE WELL TOLD STORY OF THE HORSE TRAINER NOTED FOR HIS KINDNESS, WE HAVE NOW MORE OR LESS BASHED THE CRITTER OVER THE HEAD WITH A TWO BY FOUR AND HAVE ACCORDINGLY GAINED HIS ATTENTION, WHICH IS THE ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP. NOW IS THE TIME TO BE FORTHCOMING AND RESPONSIVE TO THOSE WHO SHOW ANY PROMISE.

4. INCOMPARABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT POINT THORN MAKES IS THAT "MANY NONALIGNED DELEGATES REGARD A "SAFE" VOTE, IN TERMS OF THEIR SENSE OF REGIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL SOLIDARITY, AS A VOTE AGAINST THE U.S. ON ALMOST ANY ISSUE." THIS IS A PRACTICE THAT HAS BECOME SAFE PRIMARILY BECAUSE THERE HAS BEEN NO RESISTENCE TO IT FROM OTHER WESTERN NATIONS AND HAS BECOME NECESSARY BECAUSE THERE IS OFTEN LITTLE CONTACT BETWEEN SUCH UN REPRESENTATIVES AND THEIR HOME GOVERNMENTS. OUR CABLES THIS PAST YEAR ARE FILLED WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS IN DISTANT CAPITALS EXPRESSING WHAT ON OCCASION WE SUSPECT WAS GENUINE AMAZEMENT THAT THEIR NEW YORK REPRESENTATIVE VOTED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES ON ISSUES OF NO POSSIBLE CONCERN TO HIS COUNTRY.

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5. MAY I EMPHASIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES GETS LITTLE SUPPORT FROM OTHER WESTERN NATIONS IN THESE MATTERS. SUCH, AT LEAST, IS MY STRONG IMPRESSION. I HAVE NOT YET FORGOT PLEADING WITH OUR NATO ALLIES AT THE LAST GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO VOTE AGAINST A WHOLESALE ATTACK, IN THE NAME OF DECOLONIZATION, ON AMERICAN MILITARY BASES AND NATO ITSELF. WE GOT NO SUPPORT WHATEVER. ONE COULD ALMOST SENSE THE SATISFACTION

OF THE EUROPEAN CAREER AMBASSADORS AT THE CLEVER WAY IN WHICH THEY WERE ABLE TO DEFLECT THE IRE OF THEIR FORMER COLONIES AWAY FROM THEMSELVES AND TOWARDS THE BAFFLED AND INCOMPREHENDING AMERICANS. I SAY ITS SPINACH AND TO HELL WITH IT. EITHER WE HAVE AN ALLIANCE OR WE DON'T. IF THE EUROPEANS WON'T DEFEND US WITH VOTES IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON A STRAIGHT OUT NATO ISSUE, THEN THEIR DEFENSE MINISTERS SHOULD BE TOLD THAT WE JUST AREN'T SURE WE SHOULD DEFEND THEM WITH GUNS ON THE NORTH GERMAN PLAIN. THIS IS THE POINT OF THORN'S SUGGESTING THAT CONSULTATIONS ON UN AFFAIRS TAKE PLACE IN NATO CIRCLES AS WELL AS HERE. AT THE UNITED NATIONS NO NATIONS SAVE ISRAEL, SOUTH AFRICA, AND SOUTH KOREA NEED THE UNITED STATES. ACCORDINGLY WE SHOULD CONSULT IN SETTINGS WHERE OUR IMPORTANCE IS MORE MANIFEST.

6. I WOULD LIKE ESPECIALLY TO ASSOCIATED THIS MISSION WITH PRIME MINISTER THORN'S JUDGEMENT THAT "THE BLOC OF 77 IS IN FLUX, IF NOT IN DOWNRIGHT DISSOLUTION." WE HAVE JUST BEGUN A FACTOR LOAD ANALYSIS OF 1975 UNGA VOTING AS AGAINST 1974 AND ALREADY SEE A DROP IN THAT SOLIDARITY. WE WILL SEND OUT THE RESULTS WHEN THEY ARE FINALLY AVAILABLE.

7. FINALLY, THANKS TO AMBASSADOR FARKAS FOR A MOST TIMELY AND STIMULATING REPORT. MOYNIHAN

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